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The Principia

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PROSPECTUS.

Our object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound morals Christian reforms; the abolition of slaveholding, caste, the rum-traffic, and kindred crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, duties, business arrangements, and aims of life;—to the individual, the family, the Church, the State, the Nation—to the work of converting the world to God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering Society the type of heaven. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Divine law; our expediency, obedience; our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine promises; our panoply, the whole armor of God.

☞ Editors friendly, please copy, or notice.

SPEECH OF MR. CONWAY.

One of the most able and most radically anti-slavery speeches, thus far, in Congress, the present session, was delivered in the House, on Thursday, Dec. 12th, by Hon. MARTIN F. CONWAY, of Kansas, who is, as we understand, a native of South Carolina. It occupies about six and a half columns of the Washington *Globe*. Of course we cannot copy the whole of it, but must try to present some of its prominent points. We do not endorse all his positions. On one point—the Constitutional powers of Congress over slavery—we differ from him, in toto. But the results to which he arrives, is a peremptory demand for a war against slavery.

Mr. Conway commences with:

THE UNSATISFACTORY CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

MR. SPEAKER:—It is a source of much regret to the country that the war should not be conducted with more effect than has so far characterized it. While few feel authorized to question the present delay of effective operations, or deny its necessity, all are profoundly dissatisfied with the fact itself. The war has already been protracted beyond the limit which the public mind, at the outset, fixed for its termination, assuming gigantic proportions, and involving expense of life and treasure not apprehended when the struggle began.

The original object of the country was to put down a rebellion, not to inaugurate a regular war. The authority to make war being not with the President, but with Congress, it was in recognition of his right to suppress insurrection merely that the volunteer soldiery of the country responded to his call, when the Government was menaced with destruction. The intention of Congress, in voting such extraordinary supplies of men and money, was the same.

The spirit of the lamented Gen. Lyon, manifested in the vigorous and summary manner in which he subdued the earlier Secession movements in Missouri, was that in which the whole nation impatiently sympathized. It wanted the authority of the Government exerted with decision and effect, so that rebellion should be crushed in the shell, and not permitted to hatch into revolution. But the course of the Government has not corresponded with the ardor of the people. The conflict has now been progressing nine months, and has changed its character from an attempt to destroy an insurrection, into a deliberate and settled war.

Up to the present time, we have not encountered the enemy in a single engagement of importance in which we have won an unquestionable victory. At Bethel, at Manassas, at Springfield, at Leesburg, and at Belmont, we have been defeated. Saving two expeditions to our Southern coast, the Federal arms have been everywhere overborne, notwithstanding our volunteers have displayed a gallantry rarely equalled even by veteran troops.

This fruitless campaign has resulted in defeating the original purpose of the country: and the rebels have secured, under the recognition of nations, a belligerent character, in derogation of their responsibilities to the Federal Union.

MOMENTOUS RESULTS OF THIS INEFFICIENCY.

The character thus confirmed to the rebellious States gives them a position they could not hold under the Federal Constitution. In point of fact, it confers upon them a recognized status among nations to make war upon that Constitution. Why, then, does it not also exonerate the Federal Government from any obligation to them, dependent upon that instrument? How can they have rights under the Constitution the Government is bound to respect, while they are enjoying the rights of belligerents arising from incompatible relations? It is impossible to appreciate the logic requiring us to treat them as sister States, respecting rights as such, while they are warring upon us as a foreign enemy. It certainly would be more just as well as correct to claim them as rebel States, with such a belligerent character as releases us from any obligation to respect their Federal status.

In fact and principle, their character as belligerents fixes their *status*, and not our common Constitution. Its authority is, as regards them, suspended. No United States' officer has exercised his functions in any of those States for nine months. During this period we have been powerless there to give protection in any shape to life and property. Through an organization styled the "Confederate States Government," a military power has exhibited itself, which, embodying the force of that section, exercises civil administration, and disputes our sway. The following from Vattel is precisely to the point:

"When a nation becomes divided into two parties, absolutely independent and no longer ackowledging a common superior, the State is dissolved, and the war between the two parties stands upon the same ground, in every respect, as a public war between two different nations."—[Book ii, Chap. xvii, p. 428.]

This exordium furnishes the keynote of the argument of Mr. Conway. Not recognizing, but disclaiming the Constitutional power of Congress, at all times, to abolish slavery in the States, by the guarantee to every State in the Union, of a Republican form of Government, Mr. Conway naturally welcomes the idea that the Confederate States are no longer to be regarded as *in* the Union as States, but may be subjugated, and held as conquered provinces. He advocates:

A WAR OF SUBJUGATION AND ABOLITION.

The work of the Government, at its present stage, is not, therefore, suppression of insurrection, in any just sense; but the overthrow of a rebellious power. Its success does not signify the execution of the terms of an existing Government in the seceded States—remitting them to their original status in the Union; but implies their subjugation to the sovereignty of the United States, to be held as Territories, or military dependencies, or States, or anything else we please. This is clearly the present attitude of the case.

Now the evil of our system is the institution of slavery. Conflicting with the rights of human nature, it is required to grasp, monopolize, and exercise power despotically, in order to perpetuate its own existence. It has been to us a prolific source of national disaster. It is the sustaining cause, the object, and chief resource of this rebellion; at the same time that it is the point at which the most fatal blow may be inflicted upon it.

The abolition of slavery is no longer a "contraband" proposition. It has been elevated by events into a measure of wide-spread public importance, demanding the favorable consideration of statesmen. It is no longer the Shibboleth of a sect or party, but the overruling necessity of a nation. To retain slavery, under existing circumstances, in our body politic, would, in my judgment, evince the very worst kind of folly or wickedness. To eliminate it forever, should be the unwavering determination of the Government.

Nevertheless, the Administration refuses to heed such counsel, and persists in regarding the institution as shielded by such constitutional sanction as it is not at liberty to infract.

THE ADMINISTRATION WITHOUT A POLICY.

Mr. Conway proceeds to cite official documents, in evidence that the Administration "*indicates no policy whatever for dealing with the momentous question.*" For this purpose he cites the President's recent Message to Congress, and the several "orders of the Secretary of War to the generals in the field," and also the Proclamations of those generals. He then proceeds.

NO TENDENCY TO EMANCIPATION.

I cannot see that the policy of the Administration, as thus exemplified, tends, in the smallest degree, to an anti-slavery result. The principle governing it is, that the constitutional Union, as it existed prior to the rebellion, remains intact: that the local laws, usages, and institutions of the seceded States are to be sedulously respected, unless necessity in military operations should otherwise demand. There is not, however, the most distant intimation of giving actual freedom to the slave, in any event.

It is settled that the status of a slave under our system is fixed by law, or usage amounting to law; and until this is changed by competent authority, it adheres, no matter what change of circumstances may occur in other respects, to the slave. Should the rebellion be suppressed to-morrow, the masters of those slaves now coming within our lines, and helping us, would have a claim to their rendition under the fugitive slave or the local law.

While, therefore, the order of the Treasury Department for paying these persons for services rendered, and the recommendation of the Navy Department that they be permitted to travel off, are good, as far as they go, they do not affect the vital question at issue.

The Secretary of War suggests something nearer to the point, in saying that the Government ought to confer freedom on all slaves who shall in any military exigency render it service.

But nothing which may be said or done will be sufficient for the emergency while the Government imposes upon itself the responsibilities of the Union with regard to the rebellious States. This principle must be repudiated, or it is obvious that we are tied, hand and foot. Under our constitutional system the individual States are authorized to control their domestic institutions (including slavery) in their own way. This is the simple truth, and cannot be ignored or gainsayed. It is folly to look for emancipation by the nation, in contravention to the system through which the nation, lives and acts. The ministers of the Government are bound by the Constitution in the discharge of their duties. Any action of theirs transcending this limitation, is revolutionary and criminal, and ground for impeachment and punishment. Men sworn to the performance, according to a certain formula are mere instruments, and rightly possess no volition of their own.

As to giving freedom to five millions of slaves on the principle of a military necessity to suppress insurrection, it is an idle dream. This principle does not even admit of a general rule on the subject. The requisite military exigency authorizing action may exist in one place and not in another; in Missouri, for instance, on the line of Lane's Kansas Brigade, and not in Accomac or Northampton. Its existence must, of course, be determined upon, when and where it arises, by officers in command.

We differ, wholly, from Mr. Conway's views of the Constitution, and insist that it is now, as it has been, the duty of Congress, under and by the Constitution, to secure its declared objects "to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty to" ALL "the people of the United States, and their posterity." Nothing but the neglect of this self-evident Constitutional duty, has brought us to our present condition. While this exposition of the Constitution obtains, we are indeed "tied hand and foot" and not even the skill, nor the powers, nor the resolute purpose of Mr. Conway himself, can extricate or release us.

Yet we hold ourselves and the nation deeply indebted to Mr. Conway, for the clear and forcible statement he has here made, of the present policy—or want of policy—of our Government. He shows that under the prevailing notions of the Constitution, its restrictions, limitations, and guarantees, there can come no rational prospects of a general emancipation, and consequently no reason to expect a national relief or deliverance, from the present paltry, petty, piecemeal process, of partial, temporary, and irregular confiscation and liberation. Mr. Conway says truly,

"To seriously impair the integrity of slavery in this way depends upon two very remote contingencies, to wit: first, on an honest sympathy with the abolition cause in those who carry on the war; and second, on such a formidable and long-continued resistance from the rebels as will create the necessity for utter and absolute emancipation, in order to overcome them. The chance of these contingencies being

fulfilled is the measure of probability for emancipation on the ground of a military necessity under the Constitution, and the country can judge of the extent of this, for itself."

The convictions of Mr. Conway on these points, are our own, and have been, from the beginning, as our readers will bear testimony.

Mr. CONWAY says:

"The overthrow of slavery by confiscating the property of rebel slaveholders seems to me to be utterly impracticable, consistently with the plain requirements of the Constitution. A bill has recently been introduced into the Senate, to declare the property of all persons engaged in the rebellion forfeit, and directing the President to execute its provisions summarily, without the interposition of civil process for trial or judgment. This bill is unconstitutional. The fifth amendment to the Constitution provides that—

"No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

"And the sixth amendment is as follows;

"In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State or district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and form of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence."

"A bill has been introduced also into this body, of similar import, and obnoxious to the same objection, and likewise to a still stronger one. This latter bill propoposes to abolish a State, and degrade it to the position of a Territory. Any such act as this would be utterly at war with the theory of our Federal system. It could not be carried into effect without destroying the nation, such as it has heretofore existed. Its success would establish a precedent which would make the Federal Government the source of all power, and convert the States into mere corporations.

Yet, while such views as these are correct, as regards the States of the Union, we could accomplish the object of emancipation without legal difficulty, as toward a foreign nation or belligerent Power. The confiscation of property and the regulation of order could be provided for by act of Congress in any territory conquered by the authority of the United States. Powers equal to these ends would vest, for the time being, in the Executive, as Commander-in-chief of the nation, even without any such enactment. His discretion in such case is the measure of his power; but this must be governed by the exigencies, and for the faithful exercise of this extensive trust, he is responsible to the nation, through its established tribunals. The President may, at any moment, be impeached by this House."

MR. CONWAY'S process, if we understand it, would amount to a virtual recognition of the independence of the Confederate States, but as States at war with the United States. Being thus entitled to no constitutional protection, we could *then* proclaim emancipation, conquer them as conquered provinces or Territories, and, on their submission, admit them again into the Union without slavery.

This plan, we think, is liable to grave objections. By acknowledging their independence, we should acknowledge them to be right, and ourselves to be wrong, in the war, from the beginning, and place ourselves in a wrong position for a war of subjugation.

If Mr. Conway would only examine the Federal Constitution, for himself, dismissing all traditionary pre-possessions, he would find ample authority for abolishing slavery by a more direct and consistent process than the one proposed by him. He would find the Constitutional authority to abolish slavery to be direct and explicit, (as Patrick Henry testified, before the Virginia Convention for ratification), whereas the right to abolish slavery in a Territory is, at best, but inferential, and derived from the unconstitutionality of slavery in the States. Experiment has already tested the moral ability to abolish slavery in the Territories, by those who hold it unconstitutional, and consequently wrong, to abolish it in the States. Nearly the last work of the Republican party in Congress, before the nomination of Mr. Lincoln was the proposal, introduced by the Committee on Territories, with Mr. Grow at its head, to admit each and all of the Territories, with the anti-slavery restriction stricken out, a measure defeated mainly by the votes of Democrats, as was announced in the *N. Y. Tribune*, whose chief Editor proposed to have the same restriction stricken out of the Chicago platform, and succeeded in getting it ambiguously stated, if at all.

Possibly a Republican Congress might do better now, if they had the Rebel States subjugated and reduced to Territories, but if they should, it would not be because their Constitutional authority would be any clearer than before. While the nation tolerates slavery in the so-called loyal Border States, it will not be likely to exclude slavery from the Territories, especially from the Territories of South Carolina, &c., &c., when, being subdued, they shall become 'loyal."

The problem before Mr. Conway and Congress was, *how to subdue* the rebel States. Mr. Conway says, very truly, that it cannot be done without making war against slavery. Yet his plan, if we understand it, is to reduce the rebel States to Territories, in the *first* place, and *afterwards* root out slavery from them. Or, at most, he would proclaim emancipation in the same instant in which, by declaring the rebel States out of the Union, he would acknowledge them as belligerent foreign States. Perhaps that method might succeed. But to us it seems circuitous, artificial, less direct, and less manifestly Constitutional than an act of emancipation, to take effect, throughout the whole country without relinquishing jurisdiction over any part of it. To thrust the rebel States out from under our jurisdiction, in order to obtain authority to abolish slavery without a violation of the Constitution, does not strike us as the most regular process.

With our views of the Constitution, we should not fear that hardly any method of abolishing slavery would do it injury. A Constitution that stood in the way of establishing justice, and securing the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States and their posterity, we should not think worth preserving.

DELUSIVE EXPECTATIONS.

Mr. Conway says,

"There are, however, many persons who believe that slavery may be placed where it will "be in course of ultimate extinction;" that, indeed, the effect of this war, in any event, will be so to weaken it in all the States in which it exists, that it will be unable to recover from the shock thereby inflicted, but will languish, and ultimately die, without a disturbing struggle.

This is, in my judgment, a mistake. The inexorable and eternal condition of the life of slavery is, that it must not only hold its own, but it must get more. Such is the unchangeable law, developed from the conflict of slavery with the order of justice; and no one is competent to render a judgment in the case, who does not recognize it."

In proof of this, Mr. C. maintains that

WHEREVER SLAVERY IS TOLERATED, IT CONTROLS THE GOVERNMENT.

The object of government is the protection of the rights of persons and property, which slavery contravenes. Slavery is a systematic violation of these rights. Government is instituted for mutual protection—the protection of each through the union of all—and presupposes no superiority of right in its subjects one over another, but implies perfect equality between them in respect to the end aimed at—the one object of justice between man and man. It is an instrument of nature; and whatever transient influences may, for a time, intervene to warp it from its appointed way, it will forever, like the magnetic needle, revert back to the eternal current which God has set to bind it to its course. Consequently, between it and slavery there is in principle, an eternal antagonism. The law of the one is to accomplish the identical result which the other is bound by its law to prevent. To dominate Government, and keep it from obeying the true principle of its being, is therefore the chief task of slavery. It must subvert Government, with respect to itself, to have an existence. Nor is this all. Government arises from the elementary spirit of justice operating to the end of maintaining among men the divine order. Slavery is at war with this elementary spirit, and consequently to merely neutralize Government, leaves it still exposed to the force of natural justice. It must, therefore, subvert this, which it can only do through the forms of authority; hence it must control the machinery and symbols of Government. Thus possessing the power of the State, it can confer upon itself a legal sanction which nature denies. So that the existence of slavery necessarily involves its mastery of the Government, in some form or other. But the tenacity of the Government to the law of its being, gives it a powerful tendency, when thus perverted, to recur to its true functions, which calls for an equally strong opposing influence to counteract this tendency. Hence slaveholders are forever at work, fortifying themselves in the Government, by augmenting, in every possible way, their political control.

Security is the great necessity of slavery; security is what it wants and must have. The value of property in slaves, like that of any other, depends on its tenure. But a secure tenure is much more difficult to get for slaves than for ordinary property. The latter may be tolerably safe under any circumstances, except those of the wildest anarchy; because mankind recognize and respect, instinctively, the natural and necessary property which is in the order of nature incident to man. The relation which the universal sense recognizes and respects is man and property, several but connected, the one idea excluding the other as in the same being. Given the idea of man, and that of property pertaining to him follows, under the inflexible laws governing the association of ideas. But holding men as property conflicts with this. It breaks the chain of ideas. Men cannot be held as property and yet stand to property as principal to supplement. Nature is violated. Logic is contradicted. Moral anarchy prevails. And hence the currents of human thought, linked with those of feeling, running upon eternal principles, set forever against it. Consequently, slave property is "peculiar." With respect to other kinds of property, no one will disturb it, unless some one intends to steal it. But as to slave property, the danger is simply that of an interference to set the bondman free. "Negro thief," a favorite epithet of slaveholders, is with them only another name for an "Abolitionist." It being only possible to render slavery secure by interposing the embodied force of the community in its Government, against the natural impulse of each disinterested member thereof to strike it down, the slaveholder must not only govern the Government to keep it from doing justice between himself and bondmen, but he must own it, that he may use it as a shield against individual intervention. Yet it is constantly liable to be swept out of his hands and carried back to its natural orbit, by the powerful tides of human thought and feeling, which never cease to flow. And so he is never at rest. He must be always rolling his stone. A precarious tenure of his slaves is intolerable to him. The constantly recurring fear of losing the power of governing excites in his mind visions—to him the most hideous—of universal emancipation. The probability of it goes directly home to his pocket by reducing the market value of his slaves.

It is, therefore, by no means enough for him to have present possession of Government. He must have it for all time; and of this have guarantees. It results that the more he gets the more he wants. He can, of course, never get absolute guarantees, because he is in conflict with the Absolute. The moral world moves, though irregularly, in the direction of eternal justice; and hence his institution continues more or less in question, in spite of all he can do. Thus slaveholding inevitably begets an intense and ever-augmenting lust of power, which nothing can fully appease, but which would, if not overcome, advance, step by step, from one seat of authority to another, until it covered the whole continent with its black pall."

Mr. Conway illustrates and proves the soundness of his position on this point, by "the annals of our country." The readers of the *Principia* are already familiar with the particulars, including the struggle in Kansas, to whose liberty loving citizens, their Representative pays in eloquent and deserved tribute of applause.

Another prominent point of Mr. Conway is that

THE SUCCESS OF OUR GOVERNMENT, ON ITS PRESENT PLAN WOULD BE FATAL TO OUR LIBERTIES!

The success of the Government in subduing, upon its present plan, the rebellious States, must inevitably result in restoring the domination of the slaveholding class by reinstating the institution, under the forms of our constitutional system, in the powers, privileges, and immunities which have always pertained to it. Hence, such a policy is calculated to bring no lasting peace to the country, and utterly fails to fulfil the object to which a wise statemanship would strive to direct the tendencies of the present momentous occasion.

It is no answer to me to say that it would elevate to power, in the South, men of more agreeable manners, or even more gentle Pro-Slavery views, than are now on the stage. In truth, the character of the agents whom the slaveholders select to represent them has no important relation to the question. Men are of but little consequence in this case. It is a contest of principles. The rehabilitation of Slavery in the Union brings with it the whole train of evils under which the country has suffered, from the origin of the Government.

Mr. C. sustains this position by showing (which we have already quoted,) that the bare tolerance of Slavery inevitably involves its control of the Government. Recurring to the topic in another part of his speech, Mr. C. proceeds:—

In what has been said we may see two methods of teaching—one by reasoning, *a priori*, and the other by intference from history—alike inculcating the one lesson, to wit: the folly of attempting to hold Slavery in a subordinate position, or to place it where it will be in course of ultimate extinction. It is tenacious of existence, and its very existence implies rule; and to make this secure is its never-failing motive. Security is what is wanted—not security admitting of degrees of some, more, most—positive security, comparative security, or superlative security—but a ABSOLUTE SECURITY. Hence, unlimited power will alone suffice it. No truth in history is brought more directly home to us than this. Leniently, patiently, indulgently, expensively, and fully, have we tried the experiment; and now we have its lesson thundered in our ears, from the cannon's mouth.

And therefore Lord John Russell was perfectly correct in saying, as he did, a few weeks ago, at Newcastle, with respect to this country, that:

"Supposing this contest ended by the reunion of its different parts; that the South should agree to enter again with all the rights of the Constitution, should we not again have that fatal subject of Slavery brought in along with them—that Slavery which, no doubt, caused the disruption, and which, we all agree, must sooner or later cease from the face of the earth? Well, then, gentlemen, as you will see,

if this quarrel could be made up, should we not have those who differed with Mr. Lincoln at the last election carry at the next, and thus the quarrel would recommence, and perhaps a long civil war follow."

Lord John Russell is substantially right in this respect. Let this plan of the Administration for bringing back the seceded States on the old basis be realized, and we shall be precisely where we were at the commencement of this struggle. Slavery might possibly be satisfied with Mr. Lincoln's policy to-day, but what would not to-morrow inevitably disclose? It might possibly, while suffering from the disaster of secession, regard its situation tolerably satisfactory in the Union, on almost any terms. But once recovered from the shock of its defeat, would it not again develop its ambitions and aggressive nature with as much virulence as ever? No one can doubt it. Hence, should this policy prevail, nothing is more demonstrably clear than that the future history of this country will realize the very same troubles of which we so grievously complain in our past, and which culminated in the overwhelming calamity of civil war. After the lapse of a little time, when the strife of the present hour shall have composed itself to rest, the old monster will again come forth from his lair. In every State in the South we shall have this measure and that for the benefit of Slavery set up as a *test* in all the elections for State Legislature, for Governor, for member of Congress, for Presidential electors, for everything; and those candidates will, of course, be chosen who are most ultra in their Pro-Slavery tendencies.

If Mr. Holt, or Mr. Johnson, or Mr. Carlile, or other men like them, do not square up to the highest standard of Southern exaction, they will be soon set aside, and those who do will take their places. The Presidential election will be controlled in the same way. It will be treason to the South to vote for a "Northern man, unless he is a "Northern man with Southern principles." Their chosen candidate will be the one who gives the best proofs of his devotion to the South. Here, then, will again be generated that species of politician known as the "doughface." Those at the North who, in times past, ignominiously threw themselves down at the feet of the slaveholders, as 'mudsills," to pave the edifice of their power, will again pass into that "oligarchy." Northern servility and Southern arrogance will grow apace; and from one demand to another, from one concession to another, they will advance, until the disorder again reaches its crisis, when another explosion will ensue, the Anti-Slavery element will rise into power as before, by reason of excesses on the other side, the whole slave interest will be again imperiled, in consequence of which it, with, perhaps, its allies, will again fly to arms (its natural resort), and the country will again be involved in the horrors of civil war. This is the inevitable action and reaction of our present system. The movement, while Slavery lasts, is one which proceeds upon natural laws, just as inexorable as the laws which govern the movements of the planets. They cannot be counteracted by any sort of political legerdemain.

Nor does it improve the case, in the slightest degree, that all this will be done through men and organizations heretofore dear to the people as representing a better cause. Circumstances change, and men change with them; but principles change not. Men may not see, or seeing may not believe. Again: men may be willing, for the sake of power, to discard the principles to which they once stood pledged. Or they may never, in fact, have been pledged to principles in themselves, but only to certain applications of them.

The resolving force of the war may turn the spirit of Slavery into a new body, with new head and feet and hands The old *personnel* of the oligarchy may be entirely displaced. Hunter and Mason, and Slidell and Toombs, and Stephens and Beauregard, and Keitt and Pryor, and the whole array of the present, may pass into eternal oblivion, and new names, it may be, in many instances, which have been, and are even now, associated with our own in political action. But this will not improve the case. Slavery will be Slavery still. Organizations cannot change it, though it may change them. Nor can men's names, nor party names change it. It may enroll itself under the "Flag of our Union," and turn its face from Richmond to Washington. It may gather around the purlieus of the White House, instead of the Confederate mansion. It may bow to Abraham Lincoln as the god of its idolatry, rejecting its present idol on the banks of the James River. But it will, nevertheless, be sure to come into our Senate and House of Representatives; it will be sure to come into our Electoral College; it will be sure to come into our National Conventions; and it will be sure to be felt wherever it is. It will vote for Slavery. It will vote for Slavery first, and for Slavery last, and always for Slavery. If Abraham Lincoln would be re-elected President, he must secure the vote of Slavery; for if he does not, somebody else will, by its aid, be elected over him. And it follows, as the night the day, if Abraham Lincoln secures the vote of Slavery, that Slavery must, in turn, secure the vote of Abraham Lincoln.

THE PROCESS OF RESTORING THE SUPREMACY OF SLAVERY BY THE WORKINGS OF OUR WAR TACTICS ALREADY COMMENCED!

Indeed, the tendency of the Government, upon the principles which now control its action with respect to the war, is irresistibly toward such a transmutation of political elements as will restore the slave power to its wonted supremacy in the Union, with the Administration for its representative and agent, however reluctant the latter might be to perform so ignominious a part.

There are two classes of slaveholders, who, though divided on the particular question of Secession, are yet one and indivisible on the paramount question affecting the power and prestige of Slavery; namely, Unionists and Secessionists. One is, as to the Union, with us, the other against; both, however, having a common purpose with respect to Slavery, to wit: its domination.

It is the determination of the Secessionists to dissolve all political relations with Anti-Slavery people of every class, and to establish a Government into which no insidious foe shall be permitted to enter, but through which Slavery shall reign forever, undisputed and indisputable sovereign lord. On the other hand, those slaveholders who cling to the Union propose to accomplish pretty much the same thing by a different process; namely, by bringing all the slaveholders back to their loyalty, and employing the power which will thereby accrue to them jointly to regain control of the Federal Government.

It is but a difference of choice among the slaveholders as to the kind of mansion they will inhabit; whether they will continue to dwell in the old establishment which their fathers built and consecrated to Slavery; or, abandoning that to the heathen, erect for themselves a new edifice, pictured in their arid dreams as one which no rude tempest shall assail, nor the winds of heaven visit too roughly; with foundations of tried steel, pillars of alabaster, halls of precious marble, and pavements of gold.

The slaveholders of the Union party, more practical and less imaginative than their Secession brethren, prefer to tarry in the old place, proposing to themselves to convert the latter from the error of their way by convincing them that Secession is a mistake; that Southern independence is a delusion fraught with manifold and terrible woes; that the safety, the stability, the dignity, the power, the grandeur, and the glory of Slavery are all fixed in the Union, and not to be enjoyed out of it, established in the house which their fathers built, which is theirs by imprescriptible right, a glorious inheritance, 'the fairest fabric of government ever erected by man.'

They appeal to the masses of the South to abandon their present leaders and fly to them, crying out that to follow the Confederate flag along the 'perilous edge,' and through storm and battle, will lead them to swift destruction; but that to rally to their standard will take them back to the old homestead, where, in the affecting pictures they draw, the pastures are ever green, and the streams ever bright; the skies always blue, and flowers blooming perennial; and here, they tell them, they may forever repose under their own vine and fig tree, with no one to make them afraid.

Their desire is that we should not be precipitate in moving forward the grand army of the Union, but should hold it up as a gigantic instrument of chastisement *in terrorem* over their erring brethren allowing ample time before using it for penitence and absolution. Hence we are to infer that the harmless evolutions of dress parade are more to their views than frequent encounters on the field of battle.

Yet they require that our army should be advanced. It must occupy each rebellious State. Our standard must be unfurled, as a rallying point. A centre of operations must be secured, from which missionary enterprise shall branch out. To convert the sinning sons of the South back to truth and righteousness, there must be a Jerusalem at each convenient locality, up to which they may come to indicate repentance and be again enrolled in the flock of the immaculate of the house of Israel. And nothing will suffice for such a Jerusalem but a military encampment, with such latter-day saints as Mc Clellan and Banks, and Dix and Halleck, and the like, armed to the teeth and ready for the fray, with sword in one hand and the Constitution in the other, prepared to administer death or the oath of allegiance, according to the stubbornness of docility of the subject.

Of course it is a part of the system of operations of these gentlemen to do a little in the revolutionary way themselves, whenever such slight irregularity may become necessary to checkmate the leaders of Secession. For instance, as in all rebellious States, the forms of government are in possession of the insurgents, it is part of their plan to arrange State governments of their own. Such machinery is necessary in carrying on the great scheme of salvation in which they are engaged—fealty to which, on the part of the penitent rebel, shall be the test of a return to the faith of the fathers. This has, indeed, already been tried, and found to work to a charm. The Unionists in Western Virginia met at Wheeling, and voted from among their number Mr. So and so for the Legislature, Mr. So and so for Governor, Mr. So and so for Judge, and they having called this the Government of the State, it was immediately recognized as such. Whereupon United States Senators and members of this House were at once sent up, and promptly admitted; and these gentlemen of Western Virginia will in 1864, by virtue of this little artful operation, carry about with them in their pockets fifteen votes of our electoral college to decide who shall be our next President. As this programme is to be carried out in every seceded State, for every State which the new South or the new oligarchy, thus clutch, they will secure two United States Senators, beside an indefinite number of members of this House, and votes for President equal to their full Congressional representation. They will have, of course, proportionate delegations in all our Nominating Conventions.

Whenever such organization is set up, it is expected that the slaveholders will, in large numbers, desert the Confederate banner, and follow that of the Union. An inducement which will attract many, is the opportunity which will be thus presented of entering into the new order of things high in official station. Offices will be obtainable with little difficulty; and ambitious young men, and ambitious men not so young, will rush it is supposed to the side of the Union, to enjoy official patronage and prestige; bringing with them all their friends, relatives, debtors, creditors and other persons interested in their success in life. It is also regarded as highly important that the most liberal promises in favor of Slavery shall be given, Jefferson Davis may in this respect bid high; but if so, Mr. Lincoln must bid against him. A strict observance of all the guarantees of the Constitution must, of course, be stipulated. An amnesty, which shall cover all sins of omission or commission, must be granted to whomsoever shall return to his allegiance, and all such measures be resorted to, as shall serve to allay the suspicions, assuage the bitterness, and abate the hostility of the erring children of the South to our common Government, and persuade them again to enjoy its blessings.

By such skillful treatment as is here hinted at, by the military arm in one direction and the dexterous fingers of political artifice in another; by alternate blows and persuasion, blister and sugar-plums, it is expected that the belligerent will be tamed down; the willful recalled to tractability; the skeptical inspired with faith; and, in fine, the whole body of slaveholders firmly planted once more on the side of the Union, the Constitution and the laws.

THE ADMINISTRATION IN HARMONY WITH THE OPERATION.

The policy of the Administration harmonizes, in almost every particular, with the object of this class of slaveholders. It affords ample protection to their constitutional rights, and full pardon to Secessionists returning to their allegiance. It holds the grand army in abeyance; and recognizing their empty frame works of State Governments, inducts them as bona fide into the sacred temple of our sovereignty.

In short, the two bodies seem to be at one table in full communion. Their actions tend unmistakably to the same result, whether they know it or not, and their success will develop a reunion of the slaveholding interests on the platform of the Administration, *for the protection of Slavery and against all who oppose it.*

In this way the party of Slavery will become again the party of the Administration; Mr. Lincoln will become the President of the South, through the agency of the Union, and Jefferson Davis will retire to the shades. The Federal Capitol will once more become the seat of the slave power, the Federal Government its instrument, and the country its subject realm. The old game of a united South against a divided North will be repeated. The party of the Administration will play the role of the old Democratic party again. The former strife will be renewed; and in the end, however distant, slavery will again be driven to extremities.

Mr. Conway here enters his "protest against extemporizing State organizations for the Seceded States," as has been done in Virginia. He declares them to be as revolutionary a secession itself. He then repeats his own plan of operation.

To recognize the Confederate States for their benefit is no part of our duty; but to shape our policy to accord with events and enable us to fulfill a high purpose, is what we are imperatively called upon to do. The fiction upon which we are now proceeding binds us to Slavery and hence the National arms, instead of being directed against it, are held where they may at any moment be required to be turned to its defence.

We have already stated our objection to this plan. Mr. C. will, we trust, abandon it himself, for a better one, when he comes to look at the Constitution *as it is*, in contrast to the old pro-slavery *misinterpretation* of it.

Mr. Conway thus alludes to the enormous sacrifices of the war:

Eight hundred thousand strong men, in the prime of life, sober and industrious, are abstracted from the laboring population of the country to consume and be a tax on those who remain to work. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury tells a fearful tale. Nearly $2,000,000 per day will hardly more than suffice to cover existing expenditures; and in one year and a half our national debt, if the war continues, will amount to the sum of 900,000,000.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE WHOLE MATTER.—RESOLUTION OF MR. CONWAY.—WHICH OUGHT TO BECOME THE PEOPLE'S.

This is the immense sacrifice we are making for freedom and Union; and yet is it all to be squandered on a subterfuge and a cheat? *For one, I shall not vote another dollar or man for the war, until it assumes a different standing, and tends directly to an anti-slavery result. Millions for Freedom, but not one cent for Slavery.*

Sir, we cannot afford to despise the opinion of the civilized world in this matter. Our present policy narrows our cause down to an ignoble struggle for mere physical supremacy, and for this the world can have no genuine respect. Our claim of authority, based on a trivial technicality about the proper distinction between a Federal Government and a mere Confederacy, amounts to nothing. The human mind has outgrown that superstitious reverence for Government of any kind, which makes rebellion a crime *per se*; and right of secession or no right of secession—what the world

demands to know in the case is, upon which side does the morality of the question lie? Considered as a bloody and brutal encounter between slaveholders for disunion, it is justly offensive to the enlightened and Christian sentiment of the age. Yet the fate of nations, no less than of individuals, is moulded by the actions, and these by the opinions of mankind. So that public opinion is the real severeign after all, and no policy can be permanently successful which defies or disregards it. The human mind, wherever found, however limited in development or rude in culture, is essentially logical; the heart, however hardened by selfishness or sin, has a chord to be touched in sympathy with suffering; and the conscience has its "still small voice," which never dies, to whisper to both heart and understanding of eternal justice. Therefore, in an age of free thought and free expression, the brain and heart and conscience of mankind are the lords who rule the rulers of the world, and no mean attribute of statesmanship is quickness to discern, and promptness to interpret and improve the admonitions of this august trinity.

Sad, indeed, will it be, if those, who, in the auspicious hour, are invested with the responsibility or command, shall continue to lack wisdom to comprehend, or virtue to perform their duty. This is the great opportunity which God has vouchsafed to us for our deliverance from that great curse which darkens our past. Let us not prove ourselves unequal to the destiny which it tenders. Oh! let us not attempt to rebuild our empire on foundations of sand; let us rear it on a base of eternal granite. Let the order of justice—the harmony of God's benignant laws pervade it. And no internal commotions or outward assaults will afterwards beset us, against which it may not be triumphant and enduring.

"Thou vampire Slavery, own that thou art dead,
* * * * * Yield to
The wealth thy spectral fingers cannot hold;
Bless us, and so depart to lie in state,
Embalmed thy lifeless body, and thy shade
So clamorous now for bloody holocausts,
Hallowed to peace by pious festivals."

Thus, may the great Republic, so long perverted and paralyzed by Slavery, stand forth, in the words of the Irish orator, "redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled by the genius of universal emancipation."

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, 1862.

☞ LETTERS on business for the *Principia* should be addressed to M. B. WILLIAMS, the Publisher.

LETTERS for the Editor, whether for his consideration, or for the public, should be addressed to WILLIAM GOODELL.

ORDERS for books or pamphlets may be addressed to either of the above.

But in all cases, the *business* matter should be on a slip of paper separate from suggestions or communications for the Editor—because business papers must be kept on the Publisher's file, by themselves. For the same reason, what is designed for the Publisher should be on one slip of paper, and matter designed for the Editor's attention or use should be on another, though all may be put into one envelope, and directed to either.

☞ All letters for us should be carefully directed to 339 Pearl street, *not* to 48 Beekman street, nor to Box 1212, (the *former* address of Wm. Goodell, where some of his letters continue to be sent.) This is the more important *now*, as the office of our friends, is now removed; and letters directed there will be liable to be lost.

THE REBELS PROMPTING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

[From the Richmond Dispatch, Jan. 2.]

The developments of the last four weeks of the war have been the most remarkable that have occurred during its entire progress. The beginning of December saw the Yankees in full force, apparently ready for decisive battle at all the important points of the frontier. On the Potomac they had the best appointed army on the continent, stated by their own authorities to be two hundred thousand strong. In Kentucky they had massed two immense forces, of thirty to fifty thousand each, which menaced Columbus and Bowling Green, and all indications pointed with certainty to an immediate advance upon our lines, at a time when we were weak and were poorly able to withstand assault from heavy columns. Zollicoffer was pressed before Cumberland Gap by a force more than double his own; Pound Gap was at the mercy of Nelson, having only a thousand men to oppose against ten thousand; Rosecranz was on the Gauley with an army which he now confesses to have been fifteen thousand strong, against Floyd, having only twenty-three hundred; Reynolds was on Cheat Mountain with five thousand, opposed by Johnson with only twelve or fourteen hundred; and *Sherman had succeeded in landing fifteen or twenty thousand men at Beaufort, while we had, in that region at the time, but a few thousand forces, little better than militia, poorly provided with arms and ammunition.* And to crown all, the splendid weather invited them to the charge.

Then was presented the golden opportunity to strike at every one of these points. *Bold effective blows, stricken then, simultaneously, by all their armies, could not have failed to crush our strength in several quarters, and put a gloomy face upon our affairs.* Success at Columbus and Bowling Green would have been almost annihilating to our fortunes in the West. Success at Cumberland and Pound Gaps would have cut our connections with Tennessee and Kentucky, irretrievably. Success in capturing our armyfin the Kanawha would have laid open all middle Western Virginia next Spring to the easy invasion of the enemy. *A vigorous push from Beaufort upon the Charleston and Savannah Railroad would have separated these two cities and cut our army of the seaboard in two.*

But the enemy have let the golden opportunity slip through their fingers. *They have allowed us time to make good our defences in every threatened quarter.* The energy of the Southern people has been aroused by the imminent danger, and we are now safe in every point where before we were so vulnerable. *Our danger is passed, and we are now at liberty to speculate upon the blindness or imbecility which prevented the enemy from using an opportunity which will never return to him.*

To what cause is the enemy's failure, everywhere, to advance attributable? It clearly was not due to the want of men, to the want of supplies, or to the want of preparation in facilities of every character. No troops were ever better armed, better clothed, or better furnished with provisions and ammunition. This was not only the case with particular corps, but was the case with all. And yet, though fully prepared for effective operations, though the whole world was expecting heavy blows to be struck and decisive results to be achieved, their armies, every where, either remained stock still, or ignominiously and most strangely and suddenly stampeded from an imaginary and non-pursuing foe.

There can be but one solution for this most strange phenomenon. The Yankees do not enlist to fight; they enlist only to draw pay. The cessation of Southern trade having put a stop to their factories and mechanical trades, the operatives have had no other means of livelihood than enlistment; the clerks and foremen have, under the same necessity, taken lieutenancies and captaincies, and the bosses are forced to play colonels. They have all gone into the army as a means of livelihood, and without any sort of intention to throw away their lives. They took to the army to keep body and soul together, and without the remotest thought of employing that method for separating the two. Accordingly, when McClellan orders an advance from the Potomac, as he is said to have done repeatedly, these well fed, well clothed, and well paid and salaried men of war persistently do not march. So in Kentucky, where they had every opportunity for a victory, and so at Beaufort, when the panic created by their landing invited an advance. All around the frontier they exhibit the same frugal regard for life and comfort, and the same stolid immobility under orders for an advance. We regard the last four weeks as decisive of the war, not merely by its results, or rather barrenness of results, favorable to the enemy, but by its clear development of the fact that the Yankees have enlisted in the army for a living, and with a fixed objection to hard fighting.

COMMENTS BY THE PRINCIPIA.

The stinging reproach of the Richmond editor, is unfortunately founded upon stubborn facts. But, as directed against the Yankee soldiers or the Yankee people, as a body, are mistaken and undeserved. The difficulty is not that the Yankees are not eager to fight. It is that the President, Cabinet, and perhaps some of the commanders high in office, will not let them. The reasons, we suspect, are twofold.

First. The *war* policy of the Cabinet from the first, and up to this moment, has been founded on the *political* policy of pacification without conquest, and without disturbing the institution of slavery,—the continued *existence* (not the destruction) of which, has been considered an essential element of pacification, by restoring the Union as it was, slavery and all. Mr. Wickliffe of Kentucky, has recently avowed this as the Border State policy. So has the Kentucky Legislature, in its Resolutions, presented to Congress. Hitherto the Border State policy, *as thus expounded*, has undeniably controlled the conduct of the war. Mr. Willey of Virginia, in a recent speech in Congress, proclaimed openly and triumphantly, that the Proclamation of Gen. Fremont and his removal from the command of the Missouri army, were in conformity with the demands of the Border State slaveholders. The Proclamation and the corresponding inactivity of Gen. Sherman at Beaufort, was manifestly a part of the same policy. The *real* offence of Gen. Fremont, was the prospect of his conquering Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, too rapidly to suit the pacification and reconstruction policy of the Administration.

All this is confirmed by the commendations of the Administration, and abuse of Fremont, in the *N. Y. Herald*, the open defender of slavery, and, so long as it dared to be, the equally open advocate of Jeff. Davis and the rebellion.

Second. In close connection with the preceding, is to be noticed the influence of that large class of speculators, peculators and swindlers, who are enriching themselves at the public expense, by this war, and are in no haste to terminate it, by the overthrow of slavery and the rebellion.

To how great an extent these two classes are one, we need not stop now to inquire.

MR. SUMNER ON THE TRENT AFFAIR.

MR. SUMNER'S SPEECH in the Senate, on the *Trent affair* and international law, is a learned and able production, discussing the *law* of the question more thoroughly than it had been previously done; evincing the most intimate acquaintance with our own national history and that of Great Britain and other European nations, in all matters than could throw light on that subject. He justifies the release of Mason and Slidell, on grounds more comprehensive that those set forth by Mr. Seward, or even by the French Minister, Thouvenel. He cites our own most eminent statesmen, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Pickering, Marshall, Rufus King, Monroe, Pinckney, and Madison, in their official documents and acts, in confirmation of his conclusions. With equal distinctness he shows, from documentary evidence, that the doctrine of the British Cabinet under all its perminent statesmen and the corresponding acts of the British Government have been of a diametrically opposite character. Repudiating the British doctrine and adopting the American, he arrives at the conclusion,

1. That the seizure of the rebel emissaries without taking the ship into port, was wrong. *inasmuch as a navy officer is not entitled to substitute himself for a judicial tribunal.*

2. That had the ship been carried into port, it would not have been liable on account of the rebel emissaries, inasmuch as neutral ships are free to carry all persons not apparently in the military or naval service of the enemy.

3. That dispatches are not contraband of war, so as to be liable to seizure.

Mr. Sumner has, we think, clearly shown that these several conclusions are "according to American principle and practice" and the French theory, as enunciated by M. Thouvenal.

Whether these positions are all exactly in accordance with the laws of nations, it may be difficult to say, until those laws shall have become reduced to an uniform and consistent system, as they certainly are not, at present. The ultimate, underlying question is, *What is right?* What *ought* the laws of nations to be? Mr. Sumner adduces strong arguments in favor of the *rightfulness* of the conclusions above stated. On one point he goes further, and broaches a suggestion that we do not remember to have met with, elsewhere. He not only recommends the abolition of privateering, (in which we perfectly agree with him) but adds,

"In order to complete the efficacy of this proposition, and still further to banish belligerent pretensions, contraband of war should be abolished, so that all ships may freely navigate the ocean without being exposed to any question as to the character of persons or things on board."

We are not prepared to say that this measure would prove a congruous complement to the abolition of privateering. We fear its practical operation would be to cover, under the guise of neutrality, the assistance of one belligerent, at the expense of its antagonist. We are not quite certain that the exemption of emissaries and dispatches, *when of a hostile character*, would not come under the same category. If these, along with supplies of military stores, and the transit of military persons, officers and soldiers, may be covered, in security, under a professedly neutral flag, very certainly one nation might carry on an effective warfare against another, the very warfare of which alone its resources and position might render it capable, without a forfeiture of its character for neutrality. One step further, if it be another, would be to allow the opening of recruiting rendezvous in a neutral country, to augment the military or naval forces of one of the belligerents. Then come filibustering expeditions of citizens, against nations at peace with us, of which our country has furnished so many disgraceful specimens. The "American doctrine of neutral rights" must be purged of these usages before it can be set up, as a model for the nations. We have proof positive that, in this country, at least, the doctrine of "neutral rights" may be carried alto-

gether too far. There are belligerent rights, as well as neutral rights—a truth which, as a nation, we are now in a position to discover. Among neutral rights, the right of insidiously waging war under a flag of peace, is not one. The whole subject requires examination anew, in the light of the past, but not in fetters to precedent, or to authority, other than that of truth and rectitude.

SPEECH OF JOHN BRIGHT.

The popular British Statesman, JOHN BRIGHT, of the House of Commons, a leader of the liberal or reform party in England, has made a Speech at a dinner, to which he was invited by his friends in Rochdale, Dec. 4, for which both England and America ought to thank him and to thank God, who has enabled him, at such a crisis, to speak the words of truth, soberness, righteousness, and peace. He discusses the American question in a spirit friendly to this country and promotive of peace between the two countries. He is decidedly a friend of free institutions and consequently an enemy of slavery. His familiar acquaintance with the affairs of this country, and particularly with the origin and cause of the present rebellion are seen in the clearness and fulness with which he has presented them in this speech. It is truly refreshing to know that, for once, at least, the subject has been intelligently and truthfully placed before a British audience, by a British Statesman, and, we trust (through the press) to the British people. And it is cheering to notice how, according to the report before us, the truthful statements and just sentiments of the speaker were responded to, by those who listened to him. It affords fresh evidence that the cause of free institutions, the cause of the enslaved, and the cause of peace between and within the two great nations are identical, and that the people of both nations, if leading statesmen will but do their duty in enlightening instead of misleading them, can easily be made to see and understand that they are so.—Mr. Bright carried the convictions and the sympathies of his hearers in favor of the United States as against the Confederacy, in favor of the North as against the South, in favor of the abolition of slavery as against its further tolerance, and in favor of the advocates of Government, Freedom, and Peace, as against Rebels, Despots, Conspirators, and fomenters of domestic and international strife.

As a specimen of Mr. Bright's thorough and minute acquaintance with the pestiferous influences that have been at work, in both countries, in favor of the slaveholding oligarchy and of international as well as civil war, in the interest of slavery, we present the extract that follows:

"No country in the world was ever more entitled, in my opinion, to the sympathy and forbearance of all friendly countries than are the United States at this moment. [Hear.] They have their newspapers that are no wiser than ours. [Laughter.] They have there some newspapers—one at least—which, up to the election of Mr. Lincoln, were his bitterest and unrelenting foes. When the war broke out, it was not safe to take the line of Southern support, and they were obliged to turn round in support of the prevalent opinions of the country. But they undertook to serve the South in another way, and that was by exaggerating every difficulty, and misstating every fact, if that could serve their object of creating distrust between the people of the Northern States and the people of this United Kingdom. If *The Times* in this country has done all that it could to poison the minds of the people of England, and to irritate the minds of the people of America, *The N. Y. Herald*, I am sorry to say, has done, I think, all that it could, or that it dared to provoke mischief between the Government of Washington and the Government of London."

Mr. Bright proceeds to review and censure the course of certain British Statesmen and of the British Government in respect to their treatment of the American difficulties. This part of his expose, like the preceeding portion, was repeatedly responded to, with loud cheers of applause. The address closes with the following eloquent paragraph:

"There may be those persons in England who are jealous of the States. There may be men who dislike democracy, and who hate a republic. There may be even those whose sympathies warm toward the slave oligarchy of the South. But of this I am certain, that only misrepresentation—the most gross, or calumny the most wicked, can sever the tie which unites the great mass of the people of this country with their friends and brethren beyond the Atlantic. [Applause.] Whether the Union will be restored or not, or the South will achieve an unhonored independence or not I know not, and I predict not. But this I think I know, that in a few years, a very few years, the twenty millions of free men in the North will be thirty millions or fifty millions—a population equal to or exceeding that of this kingdom. When that time comes, I pray that it may not be said among them that in the darkest hour of their country's trials, England, the land of their fathers, looked on with icy coldness and saw unmoved the perils and the calamities of her children. As for me, I have but this to say: I am one in this audience, and but one in the citizenship of this country. But if all other tongues are silent, mine shall speak for that policy which gives hope to the bondsmen of the South, and tends to generous thoughts, and generous words, and generous deeds between the two great nations who speak the English language, and from their origin are alike entitled to the English name."

The honorable gentleman resumed his seat amid cheering, having spoking for an hour and forty minutes.

LABORS OF DR. CHEEVER.

Some of our readers in the far west, as well as in England and Scotland, may not have heard, and will be glad to learn, that Dr. Cheever is still laboring incessantly, and as effectively as ever, in the cause of emancipation. His lecture in Tremont Temple, Boston, some weeks ago, drew out an immense crowd. It was estimated that upwards of 2000 persons who intended to hear him, could not obtain entrance into the building, and large numbers of them manifested their sympathy with the objects of the lecture, by promenading the streets and the neighboring common, singing songs of freedom.

At Worcester, near the center of the State, he spoke to a large audience, and received the most enthusiastic applause.

Of his subsequent trip to Canada we have not learned the particulars.

On his way thither, or returning, he spoke at Syracuse, in Central New York. The Syracuse Standard says,

"The lecture was a grand appeal to all the nobler instincts in the mind of man—love of justice and benevolence, and hatred of wickedness and hypocrisy, as well as to prudence and patriotism. It was one of the strong, intensely vital arguments (in favor of a course of action now entirely practicable) which have made the name of Cheever known and respected in every country where men love freedom better than slavery."

The State League, of the same city, says,

"From the high reputation of the speaker we were prepared for an able address. But our expectations were much more than realized. To call it an able argument is not enough. It was a mathematical demonstration, so to speak, to the interior understanding and instincts of all who heard him, not only of the great wrong of slavery always, but of the duty of the government at this favorable time to declare its total abolition, and the certain ruin that awaits our country if it is not done. We wish our government could have heard this modern Paul as he reasoned of righteousness, justice and the certain judgment to come, if they neglect this voice of God, now speaking to them. We think they would have trembled in their seats, at the certain ruin their pro-slavery, hesitating policy is sure to bring upon our country. No man who believes there is a God who deals in righteousness with nations as well as individuals, and that his judgments are certain to find out the wrong doer and the oppressor, but must be convinced we are on the high road to ruin.

On his return home, Dr. Cheever lectured once or twice, again, in his own pulpit, in the honored "Church of the Puritans," with his usual success, and proceeded to Washington City, where he had been preceded by Orastes A. Brownson and Horace Greeley, on the same subject. Of Dr. Cheever's lecture on Friday Evening, of last week, the Washington Correspondent of the New York *Tribune* says,

"The lecture-room of the Smithsonian Institute was crowded to-night by an appreciative auditory, to hear Dr. Cheever's lecture on the justice and necessity of slave emancipation to crush the rebellion."

Writing again, on Sunday Evening, he says—

"Dr. Cheever preached in the hall of Representatives at 3 o'clock this afternoon. Every seat and aisle, both upon the floor and in the galleries, was filled. It is estimated that the audience numbered nearly 4,000. His discourse was a bold and eloquent appeal for immediate emancipation, which he pronounced the only means calculated to insure the overthrow of the rebellion. He spoke nearly an hour, and was heard with the closest attention. Many Senators and Members of Congress were present. Gen. Lane and others congratulated him at the close of the services, which were throughout of a highly impressive character."

GEORGE THOMPSON'S LECTURES ON AMERICA.

Our readers need not be told that GEORGE THOMPSON was, along with CHARLES STUART one of the pioneers of British West India emancipation, by their labors in England, in unison with Clarkson, Wilberforce, Macauley, Cropper, Buxton and Sturge; and that both Thompson and Stuart afterward visited this country, and assisted in similar labors here. A loud outcry against "British interference," was raised, and Thompson was almost literally driven out of the country! He was there elected Member of the House of Commons, where he assisted in the deliverance of England from the imperious rule of the slavery oligarchy in that country and its colonies. A worse struggle is now on our hands. The New York *Herald*, the London *Times*, and the pro-slavery nobility and cottonocracy of England, have been trying, by the force of the foulest falsehoods and misrepresentations, to foment war, between England and America, as a means of overturning this republic, to establish a pro-slavery despotism on its ruins. In this exigency, George Thompson, like John Bright, another British Abolitionist steps forward in defence of America and her free institutions, and in favor of peace between England and America. If peace is to be preserved, and the American Government is to be sustained, it is likely, to be owing, very largely, to the efforts in England, of the abolitionists, Cheever Thompson and Bright.

In the last *Anti-Slavery Standard*, is published the second lecture of George Thompson, at Leigh, Lancashire, on the American question, which we should be happy to transfer to our columns, if we had room. Suffice it to say that it contains like the speech of Mr. Bright, a lucid account of the rise, causes, and objects of the pro-slavery rebellion, well calculated to instruct the British mind, and to disabuse it of that indescribable chaos of falsehood, absurdity, and malignity with which the New York *Herald*, and the London *Times*, have been so assiduously poisoning the British people, for many months past.

The derided, maligned, and persecuted abolitionists seem destined under God, to save the country, if it is to be saved; if otherwise, to seal up their testimony, for the instruction admonition of ages to come.

WILLIAM DAVIS, a slave, in custody of the United States authorities, from Fortress Monroe, accompanied by Rev. L. C. LOCKWOOD, Missionary of the American Missionary Association, at that Station, is now in this city. The two have been holding meetings in this City and Brooklyn; first at the church of the Pilgrims (Beecher's) next at the church of the Puritans (Cheever's) and afterward in the Cooper Institute. Mr. Davis is a bright mulatto, and tells the story of his experience as a slave, with great pathos and power. We heard him at the church of the Puritans, before a large audience, by whom he was heard with the warmest tokens of approbation. Mr. HORACE WATERS, with his vocalists, assisted in singing the "Song of the Contrabands," and, afterward, an imitation of the same in which "Uncle Sam" and Father "Abraham" are called upon to "*Let the people go.*" It was received with loud cheers. A collection was taken up, for the benefit of the colored people at Fortress Monroe, who are in want of clothing, and books, and have, as yet, received no pay for their hard labor.

MR. GARRISON'S LECTURE, at Cooper Institute, drew out a fair audience, though not as numerous as the one that heard Wendell Phillips. For the most part, it expressed the views held in common among abolitionists of all schools, and its best points were warmly cheered by the audience, showing that abolitionists, hereabouts, are not so small a band as he seemed to have supposed.

New Pacification Project.—Elihu Burritt, it seems, has proposed a new programme of pacification, by which the United States, the Confederate States, Mexico, Canada, and the other British Provinces, shall enter into a league, offensive and defensive, as so many independent nations, and "in which the South shall relinquish all claims to the return of fugitive slaves." How the independence of the British Provinces is to be secured—how the consent of the several parties is to be gained, we do not know. There is, we suppose, no danger that the proposal will be seriously entertained. The experiment of combining "Sovereign nations" in a "Confederacy"—offensive and defensive—(the old theory of the Southern secessionists revived) has probably been tried long enough, on this continent. The experiment of Union between Free and Slave States, certainly has.

News of the Day.

SATURDAY, JAN. 11. 1862.

Congress.—In the Senate, the Report of the Judiciary Committee expelling Waldo P. Johnson, and Trusten Polk, was unanimously adopted. The bill for the organization of the signal department of the Army was passed. Discussions were had on the Administration of justice in the District of Columbia—on the credentials of Benj. Stark of Oregon, (which were referred)—on the appointment and duties of army sutlers, &c.

In the House, the approbation Bill was discussed, but without any decisive action.

The War.—The expedition down the Mississippi has commenced moving. Yesterday, General McClernand's brigade went about eight miles down the river, and encamped on the Kentucky side, and the rest of the force will probably leave this morning. The expedition comprises from sixty to seventy thousand men, twelve gun-boats, thirty-eight mortar-boats, and twenty-eight tug and steamboats.

Troops were embarking at Annapolis, for *Burnside's* expedition, so called.

Gen. Fremont was yesterday before the Investigating Committee on the conduct of the war, and gave his testimony at much length. It is said to be a full and satisfactory explanation of his course in the Western Department.

The banker Smithson, just arrested in Washington, is discovered to have been engaged in an extensive correspondence with the rebels, furnishing them with full and accurate information as to the strength and position of our army, and the movements probably contemplated.

The Negroes.—"*Valuable information*" obtained from them. The Port Royal Correspondent of the *N. Y. Times* represents that "there are no means, except the statements of negroes by which any knowledge can be had" respecting the position of the enemy. He says (in speaking of a recent expedition)

Negroes acted as guides in the succeeding movements.

"Indeed, negroes had furnished Gen. Stevens with much of his information relative to the condition of the country, and upon their statements many of his plans were abated. *In no instance was that information found unreliable or defective.* I have this assurance direct from himself. Negroes warned him of an important part of the enemy's plan; of an ambush preparing for him, in consequence of which he changed his route. Negroes also told that so unexpected was our approach, the inhabitants of the various houses along the river had remained in their homes until the crossing was actually effected. This, indeed, was corroborated by the condition of the dwellings which had evidently, been left only a few hours before. Negroes also stated that, so soon as we had crossed, the rebel force in the battery at the ferry, set to work to remove their guns, and did actually get away five or six.

MONDAY, JAN. 13.

Rumors.—The Daily papers of this morning were filled with the particulars of a great victory in Kentucky—the flight and disbanding of Humphrey Marshall's army—Eastern Kentucky cleared of Rebel troops, &c. But the *Louisville Journal* regards it a fiction.

The President, it is reported, will decline to receive Gen. Sigel's resignation, deeming him too valuable a soldier to lose, if it is possible to prevail upon him to remain in the service of the Union.

TUESDAY, JAN. 14.

Congress. Senate.—The Judicial Committee, yesterday reported against the expulsion of Jesse D. Bright, alleging that the evidence was insufficient. Mr. Carlisle offered a Resolution in favor of direct taxation.

The House resumed the consideration of the appropriation bill.

Secretary Cameron dismissed!—The demand of the Legislature of Kentucky for the dismissal of Secretary Cameron is already known to the country. The President's alteration of Secretary Cameron's Report is also well known. "*Slavery still rules*" the country, and therefore its behests must be obeyed. The following is from the Washington Correspondent of the *New York Times*.

WASHINGTON, Monday, Jan. 13.

THE RETIREMENT OF SECRETARY CAMERON FROM THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

Washington was never more astounded than it was today, by the announcement that Secretary Cameron had retired from the War Department. The thing was wholly unexpected, and no man was more surprised than Mr. Cameron himself. It seems that the change made is wholly the work of the President. The first agitation of the subject in the President's mind occurred last Thursday. Yesterday he had formed his conclusion, and addressed a note to Mr. Cameron informing him of it. This note was received by Mr. Cameron last night, and was the first intimation he had that a change in the Cabinet was determined on. It is needless to deny that the War Minister was surprised and agitated, but the President assured him of his personal good-will by the tender of the very honorable position of Minister to Russia, in place of Mr. Clay, who has desired to be recalled.

We are not allowed to know the reasons of the President for this change, but we can safely venture the opinion that it result from his conviction that the country desires, and has long desired, a change. It would be useless to deny, also, that the President and his friends felt that Mr. Cameron has not been recently sympathizing with the Administration, but on the contrary, has been in active sympathy with polititians in Washington who are zealously and bitterly opposing the President and his measures.

The Correspondent of the *N. Y. Herald* says,

The retirement of Gen. Cameron from the Cabinet, although suddenly announced, has long been contemplated The pressure against him was daily accumulating, and he was quite as anxious to retire as those who importune the President for his removal were desirous of a change.

The Correspondent of *The World* says.

There is every desire of speculation as to the probable cause of Gen. Cameron's retiring from the Cabinet, the most general one being that he could not agree with the President and Gen. McClellan as to the policy of conducting the war.

The Correspondent of *The Tribune* says.

If a bombshell had fallen into the Senate Chamber it would not have produced a greater sensation than did the President's nomination of Mr. Stanton to the office of Secretary of War, followed by the nomination of Simon Cameron as Minister to Russia. It was felt to be the solemn condemnation by the Administration and the regular army, of the policy of emancipatiou and arming the slaves of rebels, so strongly recommended in the report of the Secretary of War. Senators saw in it an open issue with the Anti-Slavery feeling of the North and West, and shrank from the prospect of evils so suddenly opened to the eyes of men already weary with watching this war.

The Times says, editorially,

To those who have followed closely the course of events at Washington, the resignation of Secretary Cameron will occasion no surprise. It has been evident that the general policy of the Administration, and the opinions of the Secretary of War, were irreconcilable. Mr. Cameron, representing in the Cabinet the least radical of all the loyal States, has from the first been satisfied of the identity of the rebellion with slavery, and has been persuaded that the suppression of both is essential to the restoration of the Union and the future peace of the Republic. These views he has lost no occasion of advocating. He has embodied them in his instructions to commanding officers, and it is well known that a clause in which they found practical application was, by the immediate influence of the President, expunged from the Annual Report submitted in December. That he should sacrifice his views, or that a Cabinet could cohere with such radical differences of opinion, was not to be expected. Mr. Lincoln, born in a slaveholding community, and familiar with the institution, believes that it may be perpetuated without hazard to the Union. He considers the Border States entitled to every possible guarantee for the industrial system they have inherited, and is willing to test the possibility of restoring the *status in quo* with the least possible disturbance to the interests of those States. But Mr. Cameron saw in slavery the root of all difficulty. He regarded National restoration as impossible, until the slaveholders had been compelled to retire to that subordinate place to which alone their inadequate scheme of labor entitled them; and he doubted the propriety of prosecuting the war without striking some effective blow at its well-known source. Such contrarieties of opinion could not conviently exists in the same counsels, and hence the necessity of separation.

The World says, editorially:

"The most significant *political* event, since the commencement of the war, is the resignation of Mr. Cameron, and the appointment of Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, of Pennsylvania, as his successor. It will be construed by the country, as indicating the firm purpose of the President to adhere to the conservative policy he has repeatedly avowed, and thus far consistently maintained, relative to the object of the war.

It became conspicuously apparent, at the opening of this session of Congress, that there was a want of harmony between the President and the Secretary of War."

The Sun says, editorially:

"His retirement from office is understood to be a signal proof that the conservative stand taken by the President in regard to slavery, is not to be departed from, and also that nothing shall excuse favoritism to political partisans, at the expense of the Nation"

The Tribune, editorially, takes a different view:

"The retirement of Gen. Cameron will be attributed by some, to his frankly expressed views on the "contraband question," but (we are confident) incorrectly. Those who read the speech of Mr. Dawes in the House, yesterday, will be able to give a better guess at the true cause. The truth is, that Gen. Cameron has had very unprofitable friends."

Of the grounds of this insinuation, we know nothing, but whatever they may be, the people will suspect, as in the case of Gen Fremont, that the real difficulty was a lack of a sufficient degree of reverence for slavery.

The *Post*, editorially, disbelieves that "the means of disposing of the slaves of rebels," was the cause of the change, and repeats the insinuations of the *Tribune*.

The Herald, editorially, attributes the change to the abolition tendencies of Mr. Cameron, and cites his Report, and other official acts in evidence. It ventures a prediction.

As it was the radical abolition war policy of Mr. Cameron, as our Secretary of War, which embarrassed the movement of the army, and threatened its demoralization, we may now expect the utmost activity in the prosecution of the war, from the harmony which exists between the new Secretary and General McClellan, and other leading army officers, and the bulk of the army itself.

WEDNESDAY, JAN. 15.

Congress yesterday.—In the Senate, after the presentation of the usual petitions for the emancipation of the slaves, and some other business of minor importance, a communication was received from the President accompanying a copy of the instructions of the Austrain Government to the Austrian Minister, relating to the *Trent* affair. Mr. Powell's resolution, calling upon the Secretary of War for information in relation to Army contracts, was then taken up and debated at considerable length. The objection urged against it was the time it would occupy to prepare a proper answer to the inquiries. The resolution was finally adopted, however, thirty-four to three. Marshal Lamon sent in a communication in answer to the inquiry addressed to him by the Senate, in regard to the exclusion of members of Congress from the precincts of the Washington prison. His answer was considered a highly insulting one, and during the excitement occasioned by it, the bill providing for a jail delivery, introduced several days ago, was taken up and passed. An effort was made to exclude fugitive slaves from its provisions, but it failed; but an amendment was made, that hereafter no person shall be confined in the jail without a warrant from a magistrate or court, or an order from one house of Congress Only four members voted against its passage—Messrs. Carlile of Virginia, Kennedy of Maryland, Powell of Kentucky, and Saulsbury of Delaware. The bill for the relief of the owners of the British ship *Perthshire* was then passed, and the Senate adjourned.

In the House, the bill to abolish the franking privilege was debated during nearly the whole session, and finally passed, 107 to 43. The last section of the bill, reserving the privilege of franking for members of Congress under certain restrictions, was stricken out, leaving only one section, which abolishes the privilege absolutely. The bill as passed, reads as follows:

From and after the 1st of July, 1862, the franking privilege shall be and is hereby abolished.—*Times.*

The War.—There is no doubt now of the truth of the dispersion of Humphrey Marshall's forces in Eastern Kentucky. We have a dispatch this morning from Col. Garfield, commanding the brigade, dated the 8th inst., (the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans,) which says that Marshall's whole army is now flying in utter confusion.

We learn from Fortress Monroe that the last troops attached to Gen. Burnside's Expedition, with the exception of the D'Epineuil Zouaves, left Hampton Roads on Sunday night. The bark John Trucks, having the Zouaves on board, got ashore on the passage down from Annapolis, and did not arrive at the Roads until Monday. The new steam-frigate Pensacola, which recently ran the Potomac blockade, arrived at Old point on Monday afternoon.

Advices from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the 20th ult., are received. A report was current there that a body of Texan rebels 2,000 strong, was moving up the Rio Grande, to attack Fort Craig, and that another body of the same strength was proceeding up the Pecos river, to attack Fort Union.

THURSDAY Jan. 16.

Congress.—In the *Senate*, yesterday, the bill to increase the clerical force of the War Department and bureaus was reported from the Military Committee, and passed, after being amended so as to give four additional clerks to the Navy Department. A bill for the preservation of the Atlantic fisheries was reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The joint resolution to promote the efficiency of the troops serving in Kansas was taken up, and debated at considerable length. Mr. Saulsbury, of Delaware, was very much afraid that it was intended to arm the negroes, and declared that the adoption of the resolution would extinguish the last hope of Union. Mr. Lane explained that no such intention was entertained, but that negroes would be used in building fortifications. The resolution was not disposed of. The numerous bills in reference to the confiscation of

the property of rebels, referred to the Judiciary Committee, were all reported back, with one as a substitute, which provides for confiscating the property and freeing the slaves of of rebels.

We find in the *Tribune* a copy of the Bill above mentioned. It contains a clause providing for the *Colonization* of such of the emancipated slaves as "may be willing to emigrate." The enforcement of the Act is committed to the District Courts of the United States. This opens litigation in each individual case, and every slaveholder is allowed an opportunity of proving his loyalty and thus escaping the forfeiture. There must *first* be loyal District Courts established in the rebel States, that will faithfully carry out the provisions of the Act, before the process of liberation can begin? In what manner *such* an Act can help put down the Rebellion or establish loyal Federal Courts, does not appear. It requires a long stretch of charity, for the motives, as well as a low estimate of the mental capacity of the authors of this Bill to reach the belief that it was intended to effect anything beyond humbugging the people, and staving off the rising demand for the liberation of the slaves, in season to put down the rebellion. Yet the *Tribune* triumphs over it and says "there will be a funeral at the close of the fray, and when the slaveholders' Rebellion shall have been thoroughly suppressed, there will be little of slavery left to quarrel about." Aye, but "*when*" is the rebellion to be put down?—how? or by whom?—while four millions of loyal citizens are not allowed to assist in the process?

In the House, a debate took place, in which Mr. Bingham of Ohio said,

"He hoped all would agree to confiscate rebel property wherever found, and it was their duty to pass, without delay, not only a bill to confiscate the property of rebels—real, personal, and mixed—but declaring the unconditional freedom of the four millions of slaves by whose toil this rebellion is maintained. Then it may be said, "The Lord hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider have bern thrown into the sea." He maintained that plenary power resides in Congress to declare the unconditional emancipation of the slaves."

In reply, Mr. Wadsworth, of Kentucky denied the Congress had power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery.

"The rebellion can be quelled, if we are not divided; *but if emancipation be the declared policy, fifteen instead of eleven States will be placed in rebellion, while many from the Free States will lay down their arms, unwilling to be parties to so unjust and unconstitutional a policy.* He appealed to the gentleman to stand like a wall around the Constitution, and in a fraternal spirit unite for the preservation of the country from the dangers which now surround it.

This shows the quality of slaveholding Unionism. It will support the Union only as a means of supporting slavery.

Family Miscellany.

From the Hartford Courant.

THE STOCKINGS.

By the fireside, cosily seated,
With spectacles riding her nose,
The lively old lady is knitting
A wonderful pair of hose.
She pities the shivering soldier,
Who is out in the pelting storm,
And busily plies her needles
To keep him hearty and warm.

Her eyes are reading the embers,
But her heart is off to the war,
For she knows what those brave fellows
Are gallantly fighting for.
Her fingers as well as her fancy
Are cheering them on their way,
Who under the good old banner,
Are saving their country, to-day.

She ponders how in her childhood
Her grandmother used to tell
The story of the barefoot soldiers
Who fought so long and well:
And the men of the Revolution
Are nearer to her than us,
And that, perhaps, is the reason
Why she is toiling thus.

She can not shoulder a musket,
Nor ride with the Cavalry crew,
But nevertheless she is ready
To work for the boys who do.
And yet in official dispatches
That come from the army or fleet,
Her feats may have never a notice,
Though ever so mighty the feet!

So prithee, proud owner of muscle,
Or purse-proud owner of stocks,
Don't sneer at the labors of women,
Or smile at her bundle of socks.
Her heart may be larger and braver
Than his who is tallest of all;
The work of her hands as important
As cash that buys powder and ball.

And thus while her quiet performance
Is being recorded in rhyme,
The tools in her tremulous fingers
Are running a race with Time.
Strange that four needles can form
A perfect triangular bound—
And equally strange that their antics
Result in perfecting "the round."

And now while beginning "to narrow,"
She thinks of the Maryland mud,
And wonders if ever the stocking
Will wade to the ancle in blood.
And now she is "shaping the heel,"
And now she is ready "to bind,"
And hopes, if the soldier is wounded,
It never will be from behind.

And now she is "raising the instep,"
Now "narrowing off at the toe,"
And prays that this end of the worsted
May ever be turned to the foe.
She "gathers" the last of the stitches
As if a new laurel was won,
And placing the ball in the basket
Announces the stocking as "done."

Ye men who are fighting our battles,
Away from the comforts of life,
Who thoughtfully muse by your camp fires,
On sweetheart, or sister, or wife,
Just think of their elders a little,
And pray for the Grandmothers, too,
Who, patiently sitting in corners,
Are knitting the stockings for you.

ERRORS IN EDUCATION.

Under the present mode of education, nobody is fitted for a low place, and everybody is taught to look for a high one. If we go into a school exhibition, our ears are deafened by declamation, addressed to ambition. The boys have sought out from literature every extravagant promise of reward. The compositions of the girls are of the same general tone. We hear of "infinite yearnings," from the lips of girls who do not know enough to make a pudding, and of being polished "after the similitude of a palace" from those who do not comprehend the commonest duties of life. Everything is on the high-pressure principle. The boys, all of them, have the general idea that everything that is necessary to become great men is to try for it; and each one supposes it possible for him to become Governor of the State, or President of the Union. The idea of being educated to fill a humble office in life is hardly thought of, and every bumpkin who has a memory sufficient for the words repeats the stanza:—

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time."

There is a fine ring to the familiar quatrain of Mr. Longfellow, but it is nothing more than a musical cheat. It sounds like truth, but it is a lie. The lives of great men all remind us that they have made their own memory sublime, but they do not assure us at all that we can leave footprints like theirs, behind us. * * *

What we greatly need in this country is the inculcation of soberer views of life. Boys and girls are bred to discontent. Everybody is after a high place, and nearly everybody fails to get one; and, failing, loses heart, temper, and content. The multitude dress beyond their means, and live beyond their necessities, to keep up a show of being what they are not. Farmers' daughters do not love to become farmers' wives, and even their fathers and mothers stimulate their ambition to exchange their station for one which stands higher in the world's estimation. Humble employments are held in contempt, and humble powers are everywhere making high employment contemptible. Our children need to be educated to fill, in Christian humility, the subordinate offices in life which they must fill, and taught to respect humble callings, and to beautify and glorify them by lives of contented and glad industry. When public schools accomplish an end so desirable as this, they will fulfil their mission, and they will not before. I seriously doubt whether one school in a hundred, public or private, comprehends its duty in this particular. They fail to inculcate the idea that the majority of the offices of life are humble, that the powers of the majority of the youth which they contain have relation to those offices, that no man is respectable when he is out of his place, and that half of the unhappiness of the world grows out of the fact, that, from distorted views of life, men are in places where they do not belong. Let us have this thing altogether reformed.—*Timothy Titcomb's Lessons in Life.*

We like uncle Timothy, pretty well, on the whole—his views of life, generally, are quite rational, clear, and common-sense, and he has a faculty of presenting them in a sprightly, and attractive manner; but *sometimes*—begging his pardon!—they smack a little too much of the bread and butter. Now bread and butter are admirable articles, and so are "puddings" and potatoes when prepared scientifically, but after all there *is something* in life beyond even these valuable accessaries.

In one view of the case, an education in the bread-and-butter branch of human affairs is of the first importance, since without due respect to said branch, man could proceed but very little way, either intellectually or spiritually—at least on this earthly sphere, and in this fleshy tabernacle. Man has a material nature the demands of which should be met, because upon it depends in so great a degree the spiritual, and for that reason only. The means is too often mistaken for the end. Life is too often spent in blind devotion to material interests. The spiritual nature too often bends its neck to the yoke of the animal. Mind and soul are too frequently immolated on the shrine of Bread-and-Butter.

The time has not yet come when the rising generation need be taught to prize the material more, the spiritual less. The material, practical element may be guided into different channels. Boys may be taught that it is better, nobler, to be an honest, upright, working farmer, and walk every year hand in hand with nature, than to hang around Washington on the advent of a new administration, begging for an office, and regulating their principles, as merchants do their prices, "to suit the times." Girls may be taught that it is far better to spend their time in churning and baking, than in studying to make a show, and gratify vanity. But both should be taught that all this "practical," "common-sense," "every-day-life" business is but a humble means to a high and noble end. The beautiful dreams, the earnest aspirations of youth should be nourished, strengthened, encouraged. The ideal element should be more fully developed, that when the tide of realism sets in—as all too soon it will—heart and soul may not be overwhelmed and crushed.

But O, uncle Timothy, did we read aright? *have you* really said—"It sounds like truth, but it is a lie"—of the noblest poem of one of the noblest of poets? Do you say we cannot all "make our lives sublime?"

That we cannot all make ourselves "Governor of the State, or President of the Union" is self-evident, and if the idea of sublimity is inseparably connected with gubernatoral honors, then indeed it is all over with most of us! Well, many do think (so "practical" are they, in their views of life) that to become "great" and a sublime" they must become "Governor" or "President," and in their eagerness to attain the goal they usually out-do the matter, cross the border line, and succeed in "making their lives"—ridiculous!

A truly sublime life lives he who turns his back upon the alluring fascinations of rank and power and fame, and, perchance amid the reproach and scorn of his fellows, toils humbly, patiently, for truth and right. A truly sublime life lives many a man and woman whom the world praises not, and of whom no poet sings. A truly sublime life may we each live: Longfellow forever!

L. G.

"HEN PECKED."

To say of a gentleman that he is a very domestic man, and makes a good husband, is only a more polite way of saying he is hen-pecked.—*Exchange.*

Indeed! Is it? Wonder if no man ever makes a "good

husband" unless compelled by force of circumstances? Wonder if he never settles down into a cozy nursery, of an evening, rocks baby to sleep, frolics with Willie and Katie, or reads the evening paper to the quiet, little, pale-faced darning-and-patching machine at his side, unless "henpecked" into it? Wonder if he doesn't fill up the row of little stockings, Christmas eve, and delight wife with a handsome edition of her favorite author with—"From her affectionate" &c—on the fly leaf, unless under pain of disgrace? Wonder if he prefers rocking-chair and embroidered slippers at home to the bar or club room abroad, under penalty of the broom-stick? Wonder if he makes himself agreeable, and his family happy through fear instead of love?

'Tis a frank confession certainly, and we of the single "persuasion" are exceedingly obliged to Mr. Pants for giving us fair warning. He must not however makes his declaration of principles too sweeping, as it might thus include many of his sex who would prefer to be omitted. Let him speak for himself! L. G.

"CARE-WORN."

This is a familiar expression and conjures at once an image of a face so pale and sad, as to show that its owner was utterly disheartened, was weary of himself, his life, and of all the world besides. Many such are met any day in our public streets, feeding upon what is destroying them. It is moral medicine which these unfortunates require; but unhappily the places where the "balm" for sorrow is to be had, free of cost, is not frequented by those who most need its healing power.

Trials increase with age, but the path of the just shineth more and more unto the perfect day.

Thinking over past trials in order to rectify them, is most unavailing.

Each trial has its errand—as a bullet its billet. Receive each trial as from God.

Cultivate the habit of regarding daily vexations as trifles.

Never be troubled with trifles, and soon all trouble will appear as trifling.

Daily educate your mind to turn away from trials.

We can't lessen our trials by thinking on them.

You can't mend them by brooding over them.

Your motto should be—"Look forward and go forward."

Let past troubles go, except for thanks and penitence.

Nothing so kills fretfulness as advancing in duty.

Meet a fire with a new fire; meet one engrossing trouble by zeal in some important duty or enterprise.

Many hearts may now be fretting about yesterday's trials, or to-morrow's engagements.

Don't dwell too much on seeking for consolation. "Blessed are they which endure."

The more disinterested, the more happy you will be. Throw more of self over-board in a storm, and the lighter will the vessel be left.

Trouble not about want of success in worldly business, or that wealth is endangered, or departed, or is gone.

Aim to reap benefit from your trials.

All unnecessary cares tend to evil.

Heaven is perfect freedom from care; hell is complete vexation.

Examine how we have fallen into a fretful temper.

The cure of fretful care is in religion.

Reflective brooding makes our cares greater.

To nurse our cares is to create more of them.

Trouble comes like a thunderbolt sometimes, in a family; and thus are irreligious men drawn over the brink of drunkenness, insanity, and suicide.

We don't know how much material wealth has been consumed in the late disasters; but the wear and tear of anxiety, and the shortening of life, must be computed by hundreds of millions.

When trials come without our own fault, it is wrong to brood over them and to fret.—*Hall's Journal.*

"SECESH, MASSA, ALL SECESH.

A correspondent of the New York *Examiner* lately visited Alexandria, and was piloted through the town by a negro, with whom the following conversation occurred:

Tuesday we went to Alexandria. The white people who remain at Alexandria, are silent secessionists. The best and likeliest information thereupon we obtained from a negro whom we employed for pilot through the town.

"How do the white folks stand here, uncle—Union or secesh?"

"Secesh, massa, all secesh."

"You don't say! Why, I supposed otherwise. I thought the secessionists had left town."

"Some on 'em has, but they're all secesh what's here now, that's the certain thing. But they keep awful still, I tell you. If the soldiers warn't here, they'd talk right out, too. Dey's deceivers,—Don't tell me! Law! don't I know 'em? these white folks!"

"Well, how about your color? Are you all secesh, too?"

"No sar! I bet we aint!"

"Will the colored people help their masters?"

"Nary time. What we wants is to get off! We know what's gwine on. Darkey not so blind as white folks think."

"But some of the slaves say they'll go for their masters."

"Darkey talks to suit his master—don't like to be strung up, *he* don't! Darkey say anything—depends on who he talks to."

This was got off with great glee, and was manifestly considered a huge piece of philosophy and strategy.

"Who owns you?"

"Mrs. ——— She's in Baltimore—regular secesh—so I'se contraband, you see."

"Then your mistress don't get your wages?"

"Nary time. Uncle Joe pockets his own earnings now—fact is, Uncle Joe belongs to himself and the Lord now.—No use talking, black people knows what they're about, these times!"

HOW JOHN BROWN SAVED WASHINGTON.

"Carleton," the Washington correspondent of the Boston *Journal* relates the following: "The people of this country know not, as yet, how, under the government of an all-wise God, John Brown saved the capital. I heard of it to-day, and give the story. When the marines dashed up to the door of the engine house, where Virginia chivalry quailed, they seized not only John Brown, but a quantity of powder within the building, which he had brought from Pennsylvania. After Brown and his party were secured, the powder was placed in one of the brick buildings, where it remained till April last. When the United States troops found that the Virginia forces were preparing to make a descent upon the Ferry for the purpose of capturing the arms, they looked about for ammunition. They did not dare to visit the magazine, for there were sharp eyes which watched every movement, and an attempt to take powder from there would precipitate an attack. Then it was that John Brown's powder was valuable. It was in small packages, and where it could be taken and distributed unbeknown to any outsiders. It was placed in the different buildings, the trains were laid, and just as the Virginians thought the prize was theirs, they found that the flames were ahead of them. It was designed that the several thousand stand of arms there stored should be distributed in Baltimore, where, as you know, the outbreak immediately occurred, and that thence a descent would be made upon Washingtou. So John Brown's powder saved the capital. All of this will appear, I am informed, with satisfactory evidence, in the report of the committee appointed to investigate the Harper's Ferry affair.

"John Brown's body lies moulder'ng in the grave,
But his soul is marching on."

When in a despondent mood, look on the good things which God has given you in such bountiful profusion, and at the great things which he has promised you in the nex world, and a cheerful gratitude may take the place of despondency. Don't dwell on the dark side of things, but on life's brightest prospects. "He goes into his garden to seek for cobwebs aud spiders, no doubt will find them; while he who looks for a flower may return into his house with one blooming in his bosom."

CHILDREN.—Hard be his fate who makes no childhood happy; it is so easy. It does not require wealth, or position, or fame, only a little kindness and the tact which it inspires. Give a child a chance to love, to play, to exercise his imagination and affections, and he will be happy. Give him the conditions of health—simple food, air, exercise, and a little variety in his occupations, and he will be happy, and expand in happiness.

BE KIND.—Kind words, looks and acts are the small currency of social life, each of inconsiderable value, but in the aggregate forming the wealth of Society.—They are the "excellent oil" which keeps the machinery from rusting, wearing or cracking. They are the dew that refreshes and nourishes the otherwise arid fields. They are the sunshine of an else murky, dreary world.

Never resent a supposed injury till you know the views and motives of the anthor of it, and on no occasion relate it.

The young forget quickly, but they feel keenly.

Experience of life—What a fool I've been!

A seedy coat often covers a heart in full bloom.

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